

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 014610

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TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 014610

EXDIS

FOL RPT STATE 14610 US DEL SECRETARY 21 JAN.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 014610 TOSEC 010050

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), UNSC, PFOR, WA

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM - UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING
ON NAMIBIA (S/S NO. 7601312)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM IO - LEWIS

1. AFTER THE SECURITY COUNCIL COMPLETES ITS DEBATE ON
THE MIDDLE EAST, IT IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN CONSIDERATION
OF NAMIBIA PROBABLY ON JANUARY 26. IO, AF AND L ARE
PREPARING A STRATEGY PAPER WHICH WE WILL SEND YOU
SHORTLY. MEANWHILE, HOWEVER, I WANTED TO DRAW YOUR
ATTENTION TO THE INCREASING PROBABILITY THAT THE NAMIBIA
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PAGE 02 STATE 014610

DEBATE WILL BECOME A FORUM FOR MAJOR DISCUSSION OF

ANGOLA.

2. A DRAFT RESOLUTION HAS ALREADY BEEN CIRCULATED IN NEW YORK BY SWAPO, THE PRINCIPAL NAMIBIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT, WHICH CONDEMNS BOTH THE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY BUILDUP IN NAMIBIA AND THE "USE OF NAMIBIAN TERRITORY FOR EXTRA-TERRITORIAL INCURSIONS INTO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES." THESE INCURSIONS ARE SAID TO "CONSTITUTE NOT ONLY A GRAVE BREACH OF THE PEACE" BUT ALSO "A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY." WHILE ANGOLA IS

NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED IN THIS DRAFT, IT COULD WELL BE ADDED AND THE SC DEBATE COULD CENTER ON SOUTH AFRICA'S USE OF NAMIBIA AS A BASE FOR OPERATIONS INTO ANGOLA. THE SOVIETS AND PRO-MPLA AFRICANS ON THE COUNCIL (TANZANIA, LIBYA AND BENIN) COULD USE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO TRY TO SCORE SOME PROPAGANDA POINTS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA AND AGAINST U.S. ASSISTANCE TO ANTI-SOVIET ELEMENTS IN ANGOLA.

3. IF THE ANGOLA ISSUE IS INJECTED INTO THE NAMIBIAN DEBATE, WE COULD SPEAK FORCEFULLY ON THE HISTORY OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. ZAIRE HAS NOW SENT A LETTER TO THE SYG WHICH HAS BEEN CIRCULATED TO THE COUNCIL PROTESTING THE SOVIET AND CUBAN ROLE IN THE RECENT SHELLING OF DILOLO. A U.S. SPEECH COULD BE AIMED AT A MORE EVEN-HANDED TREATMENT OF THE ANGOLA QUESTION AND ALSO LAY THE BASIS FOR A VETO OF A RESOLUTION WHICH CONDEMNS ONLY SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE. WE COULD SET THE SOVIET/CUBAN INVOLVEMENT ON THE RECORD IN A MAJOR INTERNATIONAL FORUM AND PERHAPS SCORE SOME PROPAGANDA POINTS FOR ANTI-SOVIET FORCES IN AFRICA.

4. WE REALIZE, HOWEVER, THAT ANY EXCHANGE ON ANGOLA IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL RUNS THE RISK OF FURTHER EXACERBATING TENSIONS WITH THE USSR ON THE ANGOLA ISSUE. WE WOULD ALSO BE PARTIALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR TURNING THE NAMIBIA SC DEBATE FURTHER TOWARD ANGOLA.
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PAGE 03 STATE 014610

BY JOINING THE ISSUE SQUARELY, WE WILL OF COURSE ALSO INEVITABLY BE ACCUSED OF DEFENDING SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

5. AS AN ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY, IF WE WISHED TO TRY TO AVOID A MAJOR CLASH ON ANGOLA, WE COULD PREPARE A MAJOR EXPOSE OF SOVIET AND CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA--THEN TELL THE SOVIETS AND THE PRO-MPLA AFRICANS

THAT WE WILL USE IT IMMEDIATELY AND FORCEFULLY IF THE NAMIBIA DEBATE IS NOT KEPT WITHIN A STRICTLY NAMIBIA CONTEXT. THIS THREAT MIGHT DISSUADE THE SOVIETS FROM MAKING A SHARP STATEMENT ON ANGOLA TO AVOID A RANCOROUS DEBATE. IT MIGHT ALSO AVOID THE POSSIBILITY OF THE TABLING OF A RESOLUTION WHICH CONDEMNS SOUTH AFRICA'S USE OF MILITARY BASES IN NAMIBIA FOR OPERATIONS IN ANGOLA WITHOUT MENTIONING THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SOVIETS MIGHT NOT BE DETERRED BY SUCH A THREAT AND MAY RISE TO THE CHALLENGE OF AN ALL-OUT ANGOLA DEBATE. THEY MIGHT

VERY WELL CONCLUDE THAT WITH SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES STILL IN ANGOLA, THEY WOULD HAVE THE BEST OF THE DEBATE.

6. WE ASSUME THAT PRO-MPLA AFRICANS ARE MOST LIKELY TO TAKE THE LEAD IN INJECTING ANGOLA INTO NAMIBIA DEBATE, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS WILL INEVITABLY ADD THEIR VIEWS. THEREFORE, IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR MODERATE AFRICANS TO REPLY FORCEFULLY. SINCE NO MODERATE AFRICAN IS MEMBER OF SC, THEIR RESPONSE WOULD HAVE TO BE ORGANIZED BY ZAMBIA AND ZAIRE, PROBABLY WITH OUR ASSISTANCE. IDEALLY THEY SHOULD BE PREPARED TO REPLY SPEAKER FOR SPEAKER.

7. I AM CALLING THESE POSSIBILITIES TO YOUR ATTENTION IN VIEW OF THE RELEVANCE THEY MAY HAVE TO ANY EXCHANGES YOU MAY BE HAVING WITH THE SOVIETS THIS WEEK ON ANGOLA.

8. CLEARED: AF: AMB. SCHAUFELLE

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PAGE 04 STATE 014610

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